THE PRESIDENCY.

A SURVEY OF THE FIELD. Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I have read with attention the various commu nications in THE TRIBUNE in regard to the Republican candidates proposed for the consideration of the Chica go Convention. I have marked with great satisfaction the general spirit of fairness and tone of conciliation with which they are pervaded, indicating that what ever diversity of opinion there may be as to candidates, there is a general harmony of centiment and feeling among the members of the party.

In reviewing these discussions, however, there remains still eccasion for certain important suggestions: The first is that an idea seems to be entertained that this or that candidate has claims upon the Republican party as to the nomination in question, and that these claims are to govern the Convention.

As it appears to me, nothing can be more mischievou in practice and more false in principle than this. If ohe candidate has claims, there are certainly several others, and who shall decide between them? And be sides, as only one candidate can be selected, injustice must be done to all the others. Admit this dectrine of claims, and heart burnings, having a real and just basis, will be sown wide and deep in the ranks of

claims, and heart burnings, having a real and just basis, will be sown wide and deep in the ranks of the party.

And what is the foundation of these claims? Eminent public services, no donbt. Thus Mr. Seward, Mr. Chase, Mr. Banks, and others have rendered eminent public services, and the argument is that they are to be compensated by Presidential honors.

Let us reflect a little. These men have held high offices, and, we admit, have done their duty; and they have had their reward, that is, their salaries and the honorable fame attached to the positions they have eccupied and the labors they have performed. Whatever they have achieved, they have done no more than their duty, and the claim of payment for works of superogation is altogether ficticious and unfounded.

But there are deeper and more radical objections to this principle of rewarding partisan leaders by high public office. It is the very essence of demagoguism. Let it once be understood that a man may get the people in debt, and claim the Presidency as his reward, and we lay before every aspiring publician the temptation to act, not from a sense of duty, not from high principles of patriotism, but from a base desire to run up a bill that the public can only liquidate by the greatest office in their gift.

And still again. All public offices are designed for the good of the people, and not for the good of the incumbents. The Presidency has respect to the peace, happiness and prosperity of thirty millions of purchase and payment. It is a degradation, of the high trust of suffrage, to infuse into any election the idea that the people are in debt to a candidate, and must vote for him, in order to discharge it. It is especially base to introduce into a Presidential canvass the feeling that our choice is not free, but is to be controlled by obligations in the nature of a binding debt.

The only claims, worthy of a moment's considera-

cur choice is not free, but is to be controlled by obligations in the nature of a binding debt.

The only claims, worthy of a moment's consideration, in any candidate, are those which respect the public. He is the best man, who is likely to be the most
nseful. Of course, no party will select a leader, who
does not hold its vital principles; but as all elections
are doubtful, availability becomes an essential element
in a candidate. At the present moment, the Republican party will sin, grievously, if upon the pretense of
personal claims, they telect any other than a candidate
who will insure success. The Chicago Convention
will ill discharge the duty imposed upon it, if it does
not select the strongest of all the candidates holding
Republican principles, in view of the popular vote.

To run a needless risk, is to court defeat, and the prostration, if not the destruction of the sacred which cause tration, if not the destruction of the sacred which cause is intrusted to the Republican party.

As to who is the strongest candidate, there will of

is intrusted to the Republican party.

As to who is the strongest candidate, there will of course be a variety of opinions. Mr. "Geo. P. Bissell, "President of the Hartford Fremont Club of 1856, and "a hard worker in 1860," tells us, to use his exact words, that with "Fremont, Chase, Lincoln, Wade, "Trambull, and I believe Seward, we could carry "Connecticut." Rather a heavy load this—six ponderons candidates—for one small State, but we are glad to learn that the backbone of the land of steady habits is so strong. Many politicians hold that Mr. Seward is the strongest candidate, while a still larger number, admitting his great ability, regard him, as to general popularity, as to the actual votes of the people, one of the weakest. We do not believe he would have the least chance of the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Indiana; and this we know to be the opinion of well-informed politicians. Chase, Banks, and Fesseuden are all advocated as available candidates by certain parties.

Let us see if we cannot attain a degree of certainty in bits matter, by some general considerations. We lay it drwn, then, as a principle, that no candidate is likely to be elected who has no political friends out of the Free States; one who has no chance of gaining a single electoral vote, or of having a respectable electoral ticket in any Slave State.

The great charge against Fremont, and that which caused his defeat, was, that he was a sectional candidate. In the enthusiasm of the cauvass, this great and momentous fact was not generally seen or weighed. It has since been more maturely considered;

great and momentous fact was not generally seen of weighed. It has since been more maturely considered; and any candidate who shall be placed in the same po-cition, will, we believe, find it difficult to withstand the shock of the battle that will be waged upon him, from

this point and for this reason.

The Republicans are contending for a principle, which, once embraced, becomes more and more dear to the heart; and that is, that Slavery is local, not national; that it exists only by municipal enattments, and not by general law; that it is wrong in principle, and is not to be extended, except by the people acting in their sovereign capacity, as founders of States. This opinion has recently become more vital and in tense, in the minds of the Republicans, in consequence of the recent open and avowed doctrine of some Southern statesmen, that Slavery is a good and beneficent institution, and, being founded in right, claims universal extension.

sal extension.

But while such is the undoubted fact, and while many very sincere and ardent persons enter into the many very sincere and ardent persons enter into the coming election as a rort of holy war, there are still many others, equally sincere, yet of a calmer temper, who look to consequences, and instead of regarding only a party, take into view the entire country.

These persons naturally ask themselves, what will

who look to consequences, and instead of regarding only a party, take into view the entire country.

These persons naturally ask themselves, what will be the state of things, supposing Mr. Saward, or Mr. Chase, or any other Republican of that type, be chosen President! Of course he will not have received a vote south of Mason and Dix n's line. Is there not, then, a gulf, dark and dangerous, opened wide between the North and South, along that hitherto nominal division? Will not history, then, have inscribed the sawful words "Division of the Union," in our national annals, and even on our national annals, and even on our national map? And shall the Republican party dig this gulf?

And what will be the situation of an Administration under such a President? The Senate will certainly be against him; perhaps, and I should say probably, the Houre also, after a short time. Is beneficent legislation likely to flourish in such a state of things? Are we likely to have peace, and quiet, and prosperity? It will be contended that the Government only represents the North, and the South will cry out against it. And will not the spirit of Disunion thrive under such irritation and provocation?

Now I think there are many, very many Republi-

irritation and provocation?

Now, I think there are many, very many Republicans who will reflect in this wise, and who will not vote for any candidate, who, it is clear, cannot carry a single Slave State, or have a fair electoral ticket, out of the Free States. It is not safe to follow those who

And give up to party what is meant for mankind."

Some wen are fond of fight, and relish defeat a much as vistory, seeming to think with the Irishman that hard knocks are the true glory of a battle. These persons are always talking about their principles, ye invariably keeping them in a minority, and therefor never giving them practical effect. But, happily while there are many such, the vast majority of the while there are many such, the vast majority of the people of all parties are patriotic; they look upon Government as having the good of the whole nation in view. The majority of the Republican party especially love the Union, and seek to perpetuate it. Taey desire reconciliation with the South, and a restoration of that amicable and beneficent social and commercial intercourse which, until recently, has bound them together.

those of the Republican party—the opinious of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. Yet, owing to the Harper's Ferry affair, and various other untoward circumstances, their voice, at the present time, is silenced. Now, if the Republicans nominate what is called a "representative man"—by which is meant a man who has led the van, and whose name is synonymous, in the popular mind, with extreme Republican notions, it is manifest that these Republicans of the South must go to the Democracy. There is no other course for them. And thus, under presence of serving the cause of principle, we force a vast moral and political power, in the ciple, we force a vast moral and political power, in the very citadel of Slavery, not into inaction but into

We repeat, then, that, in our view, a man who ha no chance of a respectable vote in any one of the Slave States, cannot be elected, and therefore such a one ought not to be nominated. Even if such a one could certainly be elected, it would have more of the air of party determination than true statesmanship to force

m upon the country at the present moment. But, it may be asked, is there any Republican candi date before the people who can carry the majority of the Free States, and have, at the same time, a consid-erable body of friends in the Slave States? The advo-cates of Edward Bates present him to the public as a candidate fulfilling these conditions. It is known that he is a man of high ability, standing in the front rank of the great men of the West. He is distinguished for lecision of character, amenity of manners, inflexibl religious principles, a noble patriotism, a remarkable skill in the control of men. He has never stooped it word or deed to any of the current arts of demagogue ism. His name is unsullied; he is universally beloved ism. His name is unsullied; he is universally below. He is a truly good and wise man. So much is or

He is a truly good and we cased.

But is he a Republican? We answer, Yes; he is a Republican, that has held Republican principles for forty years. He has asserted and vindicated them in every stage, from the establishment of the Missouri Compromose to the present day; and he has done this while living in a Siave State, and in disregard of the menace which frowned upon him. Who has done more?

I know it is urged that Mr. Bates has never committee full communion with the Republican party.

I know it is urged that Mr. Bates has never come into full communion with the Republican party. I consider it hardly necessary to reply to that suggestion. He is not a man to occupy a doubtful position. Since his nomination to the Presidency by the Opposition Convention of Missouri, he has been asked to define his position, and this he has done. He had no need to make any new profession, to adopt any new platform, or to recant any old one. He had but to assert and exemplify the principles of his whole political life, to place himself, in all essential points, upon the doctrines of the Republican party.

It may be necessary to notice one pointurged against Mr. Bates by one of your correspondents, viz., that he is tainted by Americanism, and therefore cannot be supported by the German votes of the West. Mr. Bates was never an American, or Know-Nothing. He supported Fillmore in 1856, and so did thousands who are with us now. The fact is that Mr. Bates is especially popular with the Germans of the West. In 1854

ally popular with the Germans of the West. In 1854 the German population started him, without a nomina-tion, as candidate for the Land Court of St. Louis tion, as candidate for the Land Court of St. Louis County, and he was triumphantly elected. Astute politicians of the West generally believe that Mr. Bates is the only Republican candidate who has a chance of carrying the important States of Illinois and Indiana. We believe he is the only Republican can-

Indiana. We believe he is the only Republican candidate who can carry Pennsylvania.

In regard to the question of availability, I respectfully saggest the fact that Mr. Bates lives in a remote Western State; that he has not advertised himself from the Senate Chamber, nor from any other political rostrum; that no party machinery has been at work to parade him before the public, and yet his name has a lently but steadily crept over this country, pervading everly mountain and valley, every town and village; the secluded hamlet, and the spreading prairie, until he unquestionably stands as the leading candidate before the coming Convention at Chicago. Let those statemen who hold success to be important in a contest for principles, think of these things. statesmen who hold success to be important test for principles, think of these things.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The time is near at band when the Republi can party, through their Convention at Chicago, will again unfurl the banner of Freedom, bearing an invitation upon its folds to every patriot in the land to rally around it. That we may do this in the assurance of cordial cooperation of those who place a proper esti mate upon the value of our glorious Union and the Constitutional rights of our citizens, and the importance of restoring the action of our Government to the prin ciples of our Republican fathers, it is of the first im ortance that our standard-bearer be a Republican from principle. It is said that, upon the eve of an important battle during the early period of the American Revolution, Washington said, "Let none but Amer "icans be put on guard to night." Let us adopt the sentiment, and order none but Republicans on guard i 1860. It cannot be doubted for a moment that the Re publican party holds a much larger number of men of acknowledged talents and capacity for the office of Chief Magistrate than any or all other parties; then let it not be urged that we should set aside our own gallant leaders as though they were unworthy or unfit to wear the laurels now within our grasp. Let our standard-bearer be a man in whom all the essential elements of a chief magistrate are combined. In a word, let him be a man who has a soul to dare that which he has a will to do.

If certain Southern gentlemen are serious in their breatened violent resistance to the inauguration of Republican President (and we have no right to call their sincerity in question), we should make our selection with an eye to that event. And if we have a man of superior talent and ability-known and recognized by all men as a Republican from principle, and at the same time could go to Washington and take the oath of office on the 4th of March next without the effasion of blocd--let him be selected. Need I add that such a man can be found in the person of Cassius M. CLAY of Kentucky. Let him receive the nomination, and his election is certain. Then the clamor about disunion ecession, and resistance to the constituted authorities of the Government will be numbered with the things that were, and treated as a tale that is told. In select ing Mr. Clay as our standard-bearer, we will have the proud satisfaction of knowing that he has made muc more sacrifice at the shrine of Liberty and Republican em than any other man in the nation; that he is a man before whose youthful vision a more than ordinary brilliant future was hung invitingly out. But like an ancient foe to Human Slavery he preferred to suffer af fliction and persecution, and endure hardships and re proaches in Freedom's cause, rather than to roll in the palaces of the Slavery king. But whether or not Mr. Clay shall receive the nomination, he and his friends will be found as heretofore in the thickest of the fight, battling for the Union, the Constitution, and Liberty.

Russelleille, Ky., March 15, 1860. GEO. D. BLAKEY.

A VOICE FROM THE PIVOTAL STATES. To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Permit an ardent friend of the Union, who Republicanism is never doubted by those who know him, to make a suggestion on this subject. Living, as your correspondent does, in one of the doubtful States, and knowing something of the state of politics there, it is to be hoped that this suggestion will have its due weight. And lest I should be obnoxious to the charge of urging the claims of some favorite candidate to th of urging the claims of some favorite candidate to the personal disparagement of any other, let me frankly confess that I have a favorite, and for whom I mean to contend; nor do I expect to have anything to "restract or explain away, in the event of any possible "nomination." That favorite is the distinguished, patriotic, union-loving citizen, who shall be nominated at the Chicago Convention. With any man who has the least shadow of a chance there, as our standard bearer, Irdianana will make a respectable fight. With very few men can she succeed. Some of your correspondents put Indiana down as the most doubtful of all the "pivotal" States.

Indiscourse which, until recently, has bound them together.

Now, these views and feelings will have vast sway in the coming election. They will control thousands of votes. They will not only control thousands of the votes of men holding Republican principles, but handreds of thousands of the votes of persons not pledged to any party. In the evenly-balanced and doubtful flattes, we feel assured they will be sufficient to seal the doom of any candidate that is presented in defiance of the views we have here suggested. We do not believe that either New-Jorsey or Pennsylvanis or Illinois or Indiana can be carried for a candidate who is merely the representative of the North. When the discussion comes, as come it will, and when our adversaries have made their assults and shown up to the people and the nation our position, as a party aiming at the choice of a President who has not and cannot have a Southern vote, not thousands but hundreds of thousands will recoil from our ranks.

Such is the practical view of the case. Let us regard it more as a matter of principle. In the present state of politics, we are apt to consider the whole South as represented by the Fire-Earlers and Disminorists in the House and Senate at Washington, and in the Southern press. Yet such is not the fact. There are many men in the Slave States who hold opinious nearly allied to

ever unjust their prejudices may be, nothing short of once or twice triumphing with the Republicans, on some man who has hitherto been considered "conservative," can completely blend their sentiments with that party. Give us the prestige of success, and the beauties of a strictly Republican Administration, with a man at its head who is firm, but not ultra, and third prostice will be given to the contract of the parties will be given to the winds, as far as the

is concerned.

I shall not institute a comparison between Mr. Bates and any other probable candidate, but trust I shall be indulged in saying this: that, while at the north of the State, any man who is the nominee will be likely to poll the entire strength of the Opposition, at the same time Mr. Bates, on such a platform as I trust will be adouted at Chicaco will court 5 000 more votes than and the same and the same a pistform as I trus with a adopted at Chicago, will carry 5,000 more votes than any other possible candidate. In the HId District alone there are 1,000 voters, who could not be induced to vote for other prominent candidates whom I might name—at least in the event of a third candidate—who would gladly east their votes for him, and about 360 of those are in the county in which your correspondent written. pondent writes.

LEATHERWOOD.

Bedford, Lawrence County, Ind., March 20, 1860.

SEWARD-FREMONT.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune. SIR: In to-day's paper you say that "nine-tenths of the Republians of New-York prefer Gov. Seward to any other man for next President." I beg to differ from you, at least as regards this city. I have a large acquaintance with Republicans, and a though they would all perhaps support Mr. Seward, if nominated yet a great many think it poor policy to nominate him Outside of the "Ward Associations," where some en thusiasm is gotten up for him by would-be party leaders, his probable nomination is received with a cold-ness and indifference which augurs anything but a suc-cessful campaign, should he be our leader. No, Mr. Greelev, Mr. Seward's name would fail to arouse en teresey, mr. sewards name would had to arouse ex-thusiaem among the mass of voters. In 1844, a promi-nent motto of the Whigs was, "Excitament is success," which I believe true as regards politics. I could give the names of many active Republicans who "prefer other men to Mr. Seward," but it is not

expedient to do so. Do not urge the nomination of a man who would

Do not arge the nomination of a man who would barely get the votes of "Straight Republicans," while the charges and slanders brought against him would cause the wavering and doubtful to become neutrals, and neutrals to become opponents; but give us our gallant leader of 1856, Fremont, and a glorious success will be ours; and for the second place on the ticket give us the true and noble Clay of Kentacky.

New-York, april 2, 1860.

COL. FREMONT. To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: As your columns are open to opinions and snggestions as to who may be the strongest and most available candidate that the Republican party could nominate for the Presidency, I beg leave to say that Col. John C. Fremont is the strongest man in the party for this portion of the Empire State that could be n insted by the Chicago Convention, although Gov. mated by the Chicago Convention, although Gov. Seward would receive the full party vote. I see by your correspondents that his name has not gone into oblivion in other portions of the country, but that the very sound of his name adds new life and energy to the party whose phalanx he so nobly led in 1856. Certain the control of the party whose phalanx he so nobly led in 1856. Certain the control of the party whose phalanx he so nobly led in 1856. the party whose phalanx he so noty led in 1850. Certainly, his claims are not inconsiderable. The infamous slanders hurled against him by our adversaries in 1856 world not so much as be thought of in 1860, execpt to the injury of those who use them. Let this be taken into consideration.

Col. Fremont would receive—if present omens are

Col. Fremont would receive—if present omens are not deceptive—a stronger support from the "conservative" element than would Mr. Bates, Now, this may seem strange, but it is true, nevertheless. The fact is, Mr. Bates has not the confidence of the American people to any great extent. I speak of Col. Fremont as the most available cancidate, but William H. Seward is our choice. Give us Fremont, Seward, Chase, Banks, or whom you please; but O, TRIBUNE! make Mr. Bates an exception.

*Dastrille, N. Y., March 24, 1969.

A WORD FROM CENTRAL NEW-YORK.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune. SIR: We would like the floor about two minutes be fore the meeting adjourns. Our village (Ilion) numbers some 1,000 son's. We take of THE TRIBUNE 42 Weeklice, 4 Semi-Weekly, and 20 Dailies. We gave John C. Fremont a good round vote in '56, and would like to try our hand at it again in '60. "The conies " sre bet a feeble folk, yet make they their houses it "the rocks." The name of Seward is, as ever, dear to us, and he would doubtless be the light choice of a large major : but many fears me end stained by his war est friends as to his succes. receive the no est friends as to his succes.

The receive the nomination at Chicago. I am satural dispeak almost the unanimous sentiment of the Republicans in this section when I say, give us John C. Fremont and Carsins M. Chay as standard-bearers for the campaign of '60, and a will sentent the campaign of '60, and

we will sweep the deck.

ANOTHER WORKING REPUBLICAN OF 136.

Central New York, March 29, 1800.

OUR CANDIDATES.

To the Edit of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: A avorite ticket in these parts is that headed:

SEWARD AND BATES! There will be some dispute as to which name should

stand first; and some questioning whether the candidates would accept in such a combination; but its success would be sure, if arranged somewhat as follows: Let the Republicans, as the longest branch of the opposition, set forth the ticket as above. Then let them offer to all other opposition pastice, that if they will unite on the same electors, they shall have the ticket reversed in the Electoral Colleges, provided they (the other sections of opposition) cust votes enough to turn the election. This result would be reached thus: Let the Luctoral tickets all have on them the same names; but let there be some distinction about them, to mark who cast them for "Seward and Bates," and who in favor of "Bates and Seward." At the same time, let all the Electors stand pledged, that if an opposition majority are elected in November, then, upon their assembling as an Electoral College in each State, they will decide between the ticket of "Seward and Bates," and that of "Bates and Seward," upon this principle. If the votes that indicated the latter ticket many State or States were enough to have turned the result if they had been left out, (not counted on the other side), then all the opposition Electure throughout the States will vote for and put in "Bates and Seward." But if, on the other hand, the "Seward and Bates" will be voted by all the Electors. Does not this plan take away all risks from the Republicans, while at the same time offering to the rest Let the frectoral tickets all have on them the san

publicans, while at the same time offering to the rest of the oppesition the very best thing they could possi-ily accomplish? Give us them for our battle-cry:

"SEWARD AND BATES! FREE MONTE.

SEWARD OR LINCOLN.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune:
. R: As you are now publishing the opinions of suc as address you on the Presidential question, perhap the views of an Illinois Republican would not be con idered inopportune.

In the first place, though the nomination of the Hon A. Lincoln, by our Convention, would best suit the feelings and desires of the mass of Republican voters of this State, I, in common with probably nine out of ten of the party here, acknowledge the higher claims of Wm. H. Seward, and think it justly due him, as the acknowledged leader of our party from the days of its infancy, and now, perhaps, the most thorough repreentative man in our ranks. If Gov. Saward is deemed ufficiently available by the Convention which is soon sufficiently available by the Covention which is soon to meet in this city, the only question which should arise to debar his receiving the nomination is removed. If the doubts about his carrying Pennsylvania are removed, it will be an act of gross injustice to him if he is not nominated without opposition.

It is my firm belief that he could carry Illinois by at least 5,000 majority against even Mr. Douglas, as he will be certain of receiving the entire German vote of the State without which our candidate stands without

will be certain of receiving the entire German vote of the State, without which our candidate stands without the ghost of a chance of receiving its Electoral vote. But in the event of its being conclusively shown that, with him as our standard-bearer, we should lesson our chances of success in Pennsylvania, which is absolutely recessary to effect the result for which we batt'e, then it behooves the Republican Convention to unite upon one who, if the election took place tomorrow, would carry the entire North-West, including even Indiana, by heavy majorities, and by advices received from Pennsylvania, would, we believe, lead the Opposition nominee by a large vote in that otherwise doubtful State. That man is the Hon. Abraham Lincoln of this State. He is certainly the candidate with whom, of all others we are most confident of success.

with some of our public journals, The New-Yor TRHEUNE among the number. But, though personal mexceptionable, and might make a good Presider he could never secure the electoral votes necessary

elect him, as Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and probably Pennsylvania, would go against him by heavy majori-ties. Not one German in a hundred could be pre-vailed upon to vote for an acknowledged Know-Nothing, ties. Not one terman in a huntered chiral upon to vote for an acknowledged Know-Nothin who now states his views on the great National quetions are unchanged since 1856, and if nominated the Republican candidate, would run with that under

Give us any Republican who was engaged in the great battle of 56, and who presents a "clear record," and we will work hard, with a good prospect of success; but with Judge Bates, we might as well postpone all hopes of triumph till 1864 again brings us to the scratch.

Chicago, March 21, 1860.

PENNSYLVANIA NOT FOR CAMERON.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

It is due to the Republicans of Pennsylvania, that

he report that is now being circulated of her advocacy of the claims of Simon Cameron for the Presidency should be contradicted. The people of the "Old Keystone" fully understand the nature of the times, and they are aware that unless the opposition can nomipate a genuine statesman, the battle is are aware, too, that the country is not to be purged from the evils of the present administration by com-promising with its sins, but by placing the Govern-ment on a new foundation, by hangurating a new dynasty based upon a declaration of positive principles. These requisites are embraced in the Republican plat form, the genuine exponents of which are found, in professional politicians, but in true national states mer. If then the Chicago Convention will select one of the latter, how can the choice fall upon Simon

Surely he can urge to claims based upon his past

Is it possible that Pennsylvania, if disposed to b influenced by just considerations, can forget or for give the dark transactions in the notorious Winnebago Indian claims, and conscientiously deposit her vote for Simon Cameron?

tion to advocate a man because of his Pennsylvanian-ism, his New-York sm, or his Kentuckyism. We want for President, not a Missourian, nor a Pennsylvanian,

for President, not a Missourian, nor a Pennsylvanian, nor a Georgian, but we want a man of classical accomplishments, learned mind, decision of character, unblemished reputation—in a word, a statesman.

If, then, we accept what we need, how can we accept Simon Cameron?

But it is urged that the personal popularity of Gen. Cameron in Pennsylvania will argue in his favor.

This I cannot concede, when I bear in mind the want of enthuriasm with which his name was bailed when presented by his friends at the late Mass meeting at Concert Hall, on March the 18th inst.

Daring the exemptor, resolutions were offered, the

Concert Hall, on March the 18th inst.

During the evening, resolutions were offered, the last of which was as follows:

"We approve of the judicious and conciliatory action of our late State Convention in relation to the Presidential question and if the Chicago Convention shall nominate for the Presidency our eminent fellow-cithen. Gen. Stmon Cameron, we pledge him the vote of this city and this State; and we are cawinced that, in the Presidential chair, he would administer the Governmen with striking practical ability and unfilmching fidelity to the interests of American labor, American freedom, and the American Union."

The North American, in its report on the 20th, says "The resolutions were read by Mr. Coffer, ore rotunds, and the considerable effect. Each one was applicated heartly, except the last, which was coldly received. The others were adopted by acclamation. The last speaker was Mr. Palmer of Schuyltill County, who, sulegizing the Hon. Simon Cameron is pointed language, was coldly received, after which the meeting dourned."

This settles, then, the popularity of Simon Cameron is the control of the control of

in Philadelphia. But it may now be asked who is popular in Pennsylvania! In reply, I may say, that there is no name at whose mention more enthusiasm has been manifested at all the Republican meetings. I have attended, than that of Wm. H. Seward. His late

nave attended, than that of Wm. H. Seward. His late Senstorial speech has established him here as the great leader of the Republican party.

If, however, the Chicago Convention shall nominate any reliable statesman, such as Bates, Chare, Fremont, or John M. Read, Pennsylvania will join in one united cops the great Republican phalanx. Keystone. Philadelphia March, 22, 1800.

MR. BATES-A CORRECTION. To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: I noticed a communication in your paper a few days since, from a correspondent in Connecticut, objecting to the nomination of the Hon. Edward Bates of Missouri for President by the Chicago Convention, stating that the German Republicans would not vote for a man who had been the President of a Know-Nothing Convention. If your correspondent is ignorant of Mr. Bates's antecedents, he had better remain silent. If informed, he had better adhere to the truth. Mr. Bates never was in a Know-Nothing Coancil, meeting. Pates never was in a Know-Nothing Counter, meetan or Convention in any capacity. He is an "Old-Lin Whig, a practical Emuncipationist, and has done no for the cause of Free Soil and Free Labor than Connecticut combined. Not that the glurious some Republicanism in that State are not willing, but M Bates has been able, as well as willing. Let the convention be fairly conducted, and if M vass for the nomination be fairly conducted, and if Mr. Bates be not successful, his friends will not complain, although they generally believe that with him resta our only hope of success. New York, March 20, 1860.

MODE OF CHOOSING PRESIDENTS.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sin: I am one of the many persons in favor of your plan of relecting the candidates for the Presidency, viz: indersement of each person's choice on the electoral ticket which he may vote. It is now too late to persons (in each party) will not like the choice of the Conventions, and will at the same time wish to vote their party ticket, I would suggest that the vario State Legislatures now in session each epact a law requiring their canvassers when counting the votes for the electoral ticket to also count such indersements as citizens may choose to place on their bailots. This will give each person, while voting his party electoral ticket, a chance to show his own choice, which he rislatures now in session each exact a law r ticket, a chance to show his own choice, which he would not do where these incorrements are not counted and a record kept of the same. I hope your State will be the first to move in this reform, and that four years hence we shall not be troubled with that great humber, a National Convention. As this is no party matter and will cost nothing, your Legislature should set the example immediately, and the other States will Stomford, Conn., March, 16, 1860.

BURNING NEGROES IN THE SOUTH.

A Connecticut correspondent writes as follows " A few weeks since, a Southern Member of Con ress denied with much warmth the assertion of Northern Member that slaves are sometimes burned in the South, and pronounced the declaration false. Ou Southern brethren are generally sincere men. mean to speak the truth, especially when they are aware that their reputation will suffer if their utter ances are shown to be erroneous. The difficulty with them often lies in the fact that they don't know what the truth is. They have no means of ascertaining. Take a man residing in the interior of Tennessee or Georgia, or almost any other Southern State, and wha opportunities does he have of learning what is going on in the world? He don't take the papers. His roads are whetched. The mail is brought to him perhaps only once a week. He is ignorant of what is takin place in his own State, to say nothing of more distant sections. In proof of this, see the assertion of the Member of Congress above referred to. He never could have been simpleton enough to have made th statement he did if he had been in possession of the facts in the case. For, as you have abundantly shown and as every man who has traveled through the South is aware, nothing is more common in the line of summary vengeance on niggers,' than burning them at the stake. See the following, which I clip from a paper published in Montgomery, Alabama, which has at come to hand, and which is called The Herald.

It is devoted to the cause of religion:

WE THINK SO TOO.—The editor of Hayneville
(Alia.) Chronicle very justly observes:

"It is questionable whether burning negroes by whites has any better effect than to brutalize the feeling of a community. Seweral have already been burned in Montgomery County, without, it seems, decreasing crime among them."

Here it is stated by an Alabama editor that " several" negroes have already been barned in Montgomery Courty. Several in a single county; and yet this Southern Member is not aware that negroes are burned in the South. He would do well, on returning to his constituents, to employ his influence to build roads through his State, and railreads, with now and then a line of telegraph, and multiply papers and postroutes, thus opening the means of inter communication, and furnishing himself and others with increased facilities for information. This is what he and his State need more than any other thing. More than this: the Northern man, in passing through his State, would be more than grateful for such luxurise.

The admission of the extract above coming from

the source it does, that "barning negroes by white " has no better effect then to brutalize the feelings of a community," is hopeful; and, as it is philosophically true, who knows but it may yet come into general fa ver in the South?

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Letter of Edward Learned of New-York, in explanation and support of his Memorial to Congress on the subject of the Pacific Ratiroad.

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1860.

Pacific Railroad.

Washington, April 2, 1860.

The Hen. Sanchi. R. Cursis, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Facific Railroad.

Sin: I had the honor to present to Congress, on the 25th ultimo., a memorial setting forth, in brief outline, a projected method for constructing a railroad to the Pacific, through the territory of the United States, which was referred to your Committee.

In that memorial the necessary brevity compelled me to omit all else than a mere glance at the more salient points of the project, without elaboration or comment; but I stated at its close that I was prepared with details for the examination of your Committee.

I now propose (assuming that your Committee are familiar with the memorial), as briefly as is consistent with a full understanding of my views, to specify the most important of these details, to show their feasibility, and the desirableness of the project, that the Committee may have its practical workings before them before taking any action upon the reference.

Committee may have its practical workings before them before taking any action upon the reference. Your Committee have already noticed, I presume, that the projet designates neither route nor termini. It leaves such designation, where it properly belongs, with the wisdom of Congress. Its aim is to build the road, and to build it by such method as shall not only insure its earliest completion, but most widely diffuse its varied benefits through the entire community. tire community.

The status of Government in the matter—the risks (if

Ane status of Government in the matter—the risks (it any) that it will assume by the loan of its credit—the recurity that it will receive for the just performance of all the proposed undertakings—its coexistent as well as ultimate position in regard to the road, and its according advantages, will be first detailed, as they will first and prominently occupy the consideration of your Committee.

mittee.

The risk which Government assumes is, by m method, rendered as trivial as anything which depend upon mere human action and contingencies can possibly be. Its bonds are not issued until the scheme in practical operation, and then by installment and only for such amounts as have been first as acquirely expended upon the road or are represented. and only for such amounts as have been first absolutely expended upon the road, or are represented by contracts for free mail service. The Government is not to take the first step, by the issue of its credit; that is taken by the Association, and then Government issues no faster or further than the Association shall have already, by foregone and definite action, performed in anticipation of such issue. The onus of the work is on the Association, Government only acting after the Association performs, or pari passa with such verformance.

such performance.

This estops all risk until the road's completion; and meanwhile, the road as executed is mortgaged to the Government Trustees as security for its completion, and the free mail service is being performed on all contracts with existing companies.

The position of the Government upon the maturity of its bonds will be, that it has paid no moneys not de-

rived from land sales, except such as it would paid for current mail service (and probably much); and it has outstanding only such of its much; and it has outstanding only such of its bonds as shall then be unredeemed by the sales of the designated belts of land, for the redemption of which it would have not only the unso'd lands, but also the obligation of the Association, scorred by a first lien morigage on the entire line of a completed road to the racific, in full operation, so ample in value and resources that the means for such payment could readily be obtained thereon in our commercial marts. The Government's risk, therefore, is so alight as to require no further consideration. no further consideration.

But what have been the benefits, meanwhile, opened

But what have been the benefits, meanwhile, opened up in Government's behalf! It is hardly possible to overrate them. Leaving out of view the ordinary and inevitable advantages that accrue, not only at the tennish, but at intervening points on all truck roads, the bruefits that will arise from the nearer approximation of such important regions as the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, being, as they are, in the direct line of a numerication of the entire commercial world, and lastic cosse, being, as they are, in the direct line of communication of the entire commercial world, and the consequent peopling of the intersening space with an industrial and enterprising exodus from all parts of the civilized world, appear to vast in perspective as almost to evershadow the more immediate and widely diffused effects resulting from the regular and steady disburrement of such enormous amounts as in the con-struction of the road will be distributed for labor and materials through all avenues and channels of busicess

Viewed as a matter of public policy, that is a wis Viewed as a matter of public policy, that is a wise and just use of Government credit which enables the present generation, by the appropriation of the proceeds of a comparatively small portion of the public domain, to establish a railroad nucleus from waich will spread out an empire over the basis of the Missispia, as well as afford to Government facilities in peace or war to protect the property and lives now daily arguent ng on our Pacific coast; and that is a beneficent policy which so applies the proceeds of these lands, that incidentally, and without enhanced risk or cost to the Government, the interests of its citizens, in the hungred of tributaries to the main trunk, shall be rescued Government, the interests of its citizens, in the hun creds of tributaries to the main trunk, shall be rescue from impending ruin, and the full benefits of the land from impensing ruin, and the luin beneaus of the latinways, permeating, as it does by its financial, commercial, and transitorial ramifications, every portion of the Confederacy, benefits to them will, drecty or indirectly, benefit every member, however exalted or humble he may be.

The method proposed being simply a pledge of the proceeds of the rale of the designated belts of land without any alleration of title except as sold, contrasts

favorably with the system which has herstofore taired in granting donations of lands to certain States, to be by them gives to railroad corporations, as will appear from a moment's consideration of the practical operation and effect of each system. In the cases referred to, the lands passed rapidly from the corporations to trustees as collateral to mortgage bonds, to be conserved to the security of the foreign scener or later conveyed to the agents of the foleiga capitalists and ironnongers who have furnished the means and erron procured by such bonds, thus placing the title to the lands, in fact, if not in form, in foreignthe title to the Isnds, in fact, if not in form, in foreigners, as well as sending their proceeds abroad for the purchase of iron and other materials. Such land grants have ever been regarded of equivocal expediency, and have been only resorted to as the best known mears of promoting necessary intercourse, where inadequate money resources left no other alternative. Under my proposed method the money will be realized at bome, and our coal and iron fields, greaver in extent than those of any other country on the globe, will be developed and stimulated into healthy and successful competition with those of Great Britain, while the title to the public lands will remain bona fide with American citizens.

Having thus detailed the position of the Government, and alluded to some of the benefits the country will derive, I propose now to notice some of the more

will derive, I propose now to notice some of the mor preminent means by which these results are to be a complished, and the manner in which the tailroad con pan'es and other parties in interest may be protected and benefited.

It may be a query with some of your Committee as

It may be a query with some of your Committee as to the necessity for an association rather than a direct arrange ment with the existing Railroad Companies. If so, the answer will be, that certain of these Companies are known to be prohibited by their charters from engaging in enterprises foreign thereto; but the power exists to confer on other parties the right so to engage and to couple it with conditions by which ultimate berefits may enure to the Companies the mselves.

Important negotiations are also to be made with the creditors of the respective Companies, which would be embarranged, if not completely estopped, if they were direct recipients of the bonds proposed to be issued. Their higher grades of securities would be so advanced in the bands of the holders (principally Europeaus) that the excrow fund, bereinsiter referred to, and the resources for the completion of the road to the Pacific resources for the completion of the road to the Pacifito be realized therefrom, would be vastly reduced, an

resources for the completion of the road to the Pacific to be realized therefrom, would be vastly reduced, and the success of the entire enterprise jeoparded.

Again, an association originating from the railroad companies, yet entirely independent of them, would be far better adapted to the prosecution of the road, both in its general policy and in matters of detail than any attempted cirect action of the companies, which, from the very nature of things, would be subject to all the fluctuations and changes in the views and interests of constantly changing local Board of Directors.

In reference to the proposed Board of Commissioners, I deem it essential to the enterprise that parties be relected combining legal, engineering and practical knowledge, and entitled by their known probity to the confidence both of the Government and the Association, who shall be intrusted with the duty of apportioning the proposed capital of the Association among the parties first entitled to subscribe thereto, and to apportion the residue (if any) among such other parties as may deare to join the Association.

They should also be empowered to finally determine all questions requiring prompt action, such as local visitions in the "alignment" of the read, &c.; the validity of contracts for free mail service, and the security to be given therefor; they should guard the interests of the Government in the issue and delivery of its bonds to the Association, by a supervision over its disbursements and transactions; and also should act a trustees for the Government under the mortgage of the road.

In reference to the mail service, the impression will.

In reference to the mail service, the impression wi In reference to the man service, the impression will be naturally suggested, that under the embarrassed financial condition of most railroad companies the re-linquishment of compensation, regularly in money, for such service will measurably disqualify them for its performance, and augment rather than relieve their

perplexities. Paradoxical as at first glance it may appear, the reverse is the fact; it atrengthens instead of cripling them. This is thus proven.

It is not probable that there are many Companies whose mail-pay alone is sufficient to meet their requirements for coupon interest, and in almost all cases the interest is largely in excess of the mail-pay; but by the plan proposed, an adjustment of this interest, and to an extent greater by 25 per cent than the mail pay, is to be made by the association, either by direct negotiation with the creditors holding such coupons, or by a purchase of the very recurities, and a delivery to

pay, is to be made by the association, either by direct negotiation with the creditors holding such coupons, or by a purchase of the very recurities, and a delivery to the Companies of the maturing coupons thereon periodically, as they mature, and in amount as stated; from which it will appear that the Companies will, to the extent of such excess, be better able to perform the service to the astisfaction of the Government than tow. That they will make the proposed contracts for 30 years service free and duly perform them, scarcely admits of doubt, when considered in connection with other ard vast benefits to enure to them in case of doubt, other ard vast benefits to enure to them in case of doubt, when duly organized, will have in hand, or subject to its order, the fall capital of ten millions of dollars. It will receive fifty millions of dollars of Government bonds pare passe with its investments, in the construction of the road, it will also hold (in escrow, on terms agreed upon with the companies or their creditors) the higher grades of securities of such companies, which shall have been purchased or arranged for with the fifty millions of Government bonds proposed to be made applicable for the purpose, amounting, probably, at par value, to over sixty millions of dollars of such securities. As the companies will be in much more prosperous condition when it shall become necessary for the association to draw upon this secrow fund (say six or eight years hence) than now, it may safely be asserted that any means then required to complete the road can easily te realized. The benefits to stock and boadholders of the companies are varied and vast. The aggregate nominal amount now invested in rail-roacs is, by reliable statistical returns, over one any means then required to complete the road castly to realized. The benefits to stock and bondholders of the companies are varied and vast. The aggregate nominal amount now invested in rafficacts is, by reliable statistical returns, over one thousand millions of dollars, of which about one half, or five hundred millions, is in bonded dobt. Such of the companies as have been enabled to make their roads first class, by the gradual appreciation of the roadways and structures, attainable only by improvement thereon for a series of years, have maintained their credit; others, and by no means an inaignificant portion in numbers or merits, while struggling to attain to this standard and position, have been overtaken by the financial revulsion which so reconstity overwhelmed the country, and are now not only discredited, but their roads and property are passing into the bands of the bondholders—practically from an American to an European ownership—and without an effort in any quarter to devise means of relief which shall be salutary and effectual.

It is admitted on all sides that the intrinsic value of these roads and properties is far above the incum

the seminteed on an electric the intrinsic value of these roads and properties is far above the incom-brances held abroad; yet it is patent to all who are conversant with the difficulties of making the combina-tions of interests, and procuring the money necessary to protect our inferior liens against the superior foreign ones, that the domestic stock and bondholding inte

ones, that the domestic stock and bondholding interests
must succomb to the foreign, and to an extent which
will spread disaster and ruin broadcast over the country if these interests are much lorger left unaided.
I claim that this scheme furnishes the requisite relief
both to stock and bondholders by temporarily retiring
(in eseron) such an amount of the threatening liens as
will allow the full merits and resources of the roads to
be developed before payment shall be demanded and
enferced. enferced.

The railroad companies will doubtless all avail of the

right to designate parties who may subscribe the capital of the association, and, in the absence of legal ability to directly assume the responsibilities and portions of such parties, will either obtain it from their respective Legislatures, or adopt such other measures as will secure to their stockholders the full benefits there-of; in which case, assuming that the Pacific road compieted shall be worth its cost—say one hundred milliers of dollars—and that the proceeds of the belts of lend will redeem the Government bonds, the present stockholding interest in the United States will be enhanced in value by proprietorship in the Pacific road one hundred millions of dollars, equal to an addition of twenty per cent on the par value of the present entire stock.

The States which have loaned their credits to roads within their borders, and which have already been, or which may be esfter be induced to waive the priority of their liers in favor of less powerful creditors, have interests in the proposed measure sufficiently obvious to make anything more than an allusion to them un-

to make anything more than an antisable to use a mecessary.

I have already trespassed too much on your patience, and will close this unavoidably-extended letter with an illustration in figures, which can readily be applied to any road in the country in ascartaining the effect of the proposed method upon such road.

Taking as an example, easy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, with a present mail-pay assumed tone hundres thousand dollars; and assuming the reset mail-pay by rail for convenience of figures) to

reset t mail pay by rail (for convenience of figures) to e \$3.333,333, (natesd of the actual sum, \$3.243,974, t is apparent that as the copital of the association is 10,000,000, or three times the total mail-pay, every ailroad company will have the right to designate a party who can subscribe for an amount of the ten millions capital equal to three times the mail-pay of such company, and who will be the legal owner berreof so far as the government, the association, or he public, are concerned.

with its investments.

The other baif, which is to be received by the association, on delivery by it to the Board of Commissioners of the contract of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for thirty years' mail service, free, will be invested in the undoubted securities of the Baltimore and Ohio Company, and will purchase at the nominal par value thereof, say.

Which bot do so purchased are to be held in excress, by the association until needed for presecution of the load.

term, to be delivered to the panels. Compary as they maiure.
Thep, when the Pacific road is completed, A B owns.
Thep, when the Pacific road is completed, A B owns. Then, when the Pacine road is completed, A B owns \$3,000,000 of the \$100,000,000, which it is assumed to have cost and to be worth, which he will then sortender to the Baltimore and Ohio Railread Company, if legal agreements to that effect exist between them. With this brief illustration of the practical result, I have the horor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servent,

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sin: I have been long waiting for some one of our leading popular publications to protest against any monepoly of public lands by rallroads or in favor of railreads, especially the great Pacific Railroad; and I am at last glad to see THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNK-true to s position of a people's paper-taking the initiatory n this important matter.

The evil complained of has already gone to an ex-

reme, much beyond the public forbearance, and the public welfare. We do not see that the railroads themselves are at all advantaged by the immense land grants with which they have been gifted; but on the centrary, as a Western paper justly says, there is danger that, at the end of certain five-year bonds, the rights of stockholders will pass into the hands of European capitalists by sequestration; and then, I ask, what becomes of our own c'aim to a large portion of the best unestiled territory of our own nation?

what becomes of our own c'aim to a large portion of the best unsettled territory of our own nation? Keep the Pacific Railroad entirely free from this de-testable abemination of land monopoly. Let the lands ie for the people, to have and to hold in their own in-cividual and just proportion. And I assert, because it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the Pacific Railroad can be built, and most effectually car-ried through and sustained, without deeding to it one acre of extra land, and without calling upon or waiting for the feeble and of a faltering and backrupt Govern-ness.

or the feeble and of a lattering and observed the interest.

The ressures I propose involve the idea of a new National Currency, for one thing, which will be as constituted that it will open ample employment with uple wages and ample hones to laborers of every less. And I venture the statement, or, if you please, he prophecy, that the Pacific Railroad will need this element for its full success, as other railroads and other great popular interests will for their relief.

This is but a hint. With your permission, and the permission of the public, I will hereafter speak more fully on this all-important subject. D. J. MANDELL. Athol (Depot), Mass., April 2, 1809.

FATTY DEGENERATION OF THE HEART. - Dr. Weber, physician to the German Hospital in London, relates the histories of two cases of heart disease, in which, after death, the microscope showed the hearts to have undergone extensive fatty degeneration. The muscular tissue, on analysis and comparison with two analyses of healthy bearts, proved to contain less fat than the latter. Dr. Weber refrains from drawing a positive conclusion from these cases, but suggests that possibly what is termed fatty degeneration consists, not so much in the deposition of fat as in the isolation of the fat, normally a constituent of the muscular fibril,

owing to the retrograde metamorphosis of the tissues. H. A. LANTS, No. 23 East Market square, READING, Pa., has the Daily, Sami-Waggly, and Wangly Taisons, for sale.